

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7758

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 PARIS 36304

NESCO

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UNESCO, PORG, OCON

SUBJECT: UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE - AN ANALYSIS

SUMMARY: THE 19TH GENERAL CONFERENCE WAS, ON BALANCE, A SUCCESS FOR THE US. WE DEFINITELY SUCCEEDED ON THE REGIONAL ISSUE AND THE MASS MEDIA. OTHER POTENTIALLY POLITICALLY EXPLOSIVE ISSUES WERE MUTED. OUR ONLY LACK OF SUCCESS WAS ON THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND JERUSALEM WHERE THE STATUS QUO PREVAILED. HOWEVER, THESE CAN ONLY BE RESOLVED IN THE FRAMEWORK OF AN OVERALL MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT. IT IS UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT ANYTHING ELSE. THE 19TH GC WAS NOTABLE IN FLAGGING PROBLEMS TO COME. THE MASS MEDIA IS UNRESOLVED AND WILL SURFACE IN THE COMING YEAR AS WILL THE DECLARATION AGAINST RACISM. M'BOW IS ALSO DETERMINED TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN A NIEO AND HE WILL NOT COMPROMISE HIS VIEWS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. M'BOW MAY HAVE SUFFERED THROUGH HIS PREOCCUPATION WITH SOLVING THE US PROBLEM AT THE 19TH GC. HE IS CERTAINLY NOT NOW IN A MOOD TO BE PRESSURED TO DO ANYTHING ELSE. HE NEEDS A COOLING OFF PERIOD VIS-A-VIS THE US. M'BOW IS STILL AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE KEY PERSON AND HIS ATTITUDES TOWARD THE US WILL CERTAINLY SPILL OVER AND EFFECT ISSUES AND PEOPLE MUCH BEYOND UNESCO. THE SOVIETS CANNOT LOOK  
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WITH SATISFACTION ON THE OUTCOME OF THE 19TH GC. THEY DID NOT ACHIEVE THEIR USUAL PROPAGANDA IDEOLOGICAL

SUCCESSSES. ALSO, THE MILITANT ARABS GENERALLY FAILED TO MAKE PROGRESS AND WERE BEATEN ON MOST ISSUES. THE 19TH GC WAS NOTABLE FOR ITS MODERATION; IT MAY BE EVEN MORE NOTABLE AS POINTING THE WAY AND FLAGGING ISSUES WHICH WILL BE IMPORTANT IN YEARS TO COME AND ARE NOW STILL UNRESOLVED. END SUMMARY

1. THE UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE, IN CONTRAST TO THE TWO PREVIOUS GENERAL CONFERENCES, WAS NOTEWORTHY FOR ITS SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE AND MODERATION. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE TWO ISRAELI RESOLUTIONS, AND THE RESOLUTION INVITING THE DG NOT TO INVITE SOUTH AFRICA TO IOC MEETINGS, THERE WERE NO OVERTLY POLITICAL ACTIONS, WHICH WE OPPOSED, ADOPTED. AS TO THE ISRAELI ISSUES, THESE ARE BIGGER THAN UNESCO AND MUST BE LOOKED AT IN THE CONTEXT OF AN OVERALL MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT. UNTIL THERE IS SUCH A SETTLEMENT, THE PROBLEMS WILL REMAIN AND BE UNSOLVABLE ON OUR TERMS. UNESCO HAS THE COMPETENCE TO BE INVOLVED IN BOTH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DIGS AND IN EDUCATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. WE CANNOT CONVINCE A MAJORITY OF MEMBER STATES THAT UNESCO SHOULD NOT BE INVOLVED AND IF WE BASE OUR CONTINUED PRESENCE IN THE ORGANIZATION ON THIS FOUNDATION WE WILL NOT SUCCEED. THEREFORE, WE MUST BE REALISTIC CONCERNING OUR ABILITY TO EFFECT PROBLEMS WHICH ARE BEYOND UNESCO IN SCOPE AND ON WHICH MEMBER STATES PLACE A HIGHER PRIORITY IN PURSUING THEIR OWN NARROW INTEREST THAN IN SEEING UNESCO SURVIVE.

2. THE ISSUE WHICH WAS BLATANTLY POLITICAL IN THE 18TH GC WAS THE ACTION BARRING ISRAEL FROM THE EUROPEAN REGIONAL GROUP. THIS DID NOT RELATE DIRECTLY TO THE MIDDLE EAST AND WAS CAPABLE OF RESOLUTION OUTSIDE THAT THORNY ISSUE. AT THE 19TH GC THE US WAS SUCCESSFUL IN MOUNTING A CAREFULLY PLANNED STRATEGY TO OBTAIN ISRAEL'S ADMISSION. THE KEY WAS THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE FALL EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING IN 1975. THIS RESOLUTION, INTRODUCED BY VAN USSEL OF BELGIUM AT THE BEHEST OF THE US DELEGATION (NOTABLY WHEN OUR THEN EXECUTIVE  
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BOARD MEMBER, WHO, TO SAY THE LEAST, HAD NOT ENHANCED OUR POSITION AT UNESCO, WAS FORTUNATELY ABSENT) WAS THE KEY TO SUCCESS AT THE GENERAL CONFERENCE. IT PERMITTED AN INFORMAL CANVASSING OF MEMBER STATES TO TAKE PLACE BEHIND THE SCENES. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT HAD THERE BEEN A DIRECT VOTE ON THE FLOOR UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF THE 18TH GENERAL CONFERENCE, ISRAEL WOULD SURELY HAVE LOST. THE REGIONAL ISSUE IN 1974 HAD BEEN THE STRAW THAT BROKE THE CAMEL'S BACK, BUT IT WAS RESOLVED AT THE 19TH GC WITHOUT RHETORIC, WITHOUT A ROLL CALL VOTE AND, IN FACT, BY ACCLAMATION.

3. THE THIRD AND PROBABLY MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW WAS THAT OF THE MASS MEDIA. AGAIN STRATEGIES WERE WORKED OUT LONG IN ADVANCE OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE. IT WAS DEFINITELY NOT ANY SPONTANEOUS REACTION TO US PRESSURES, BUT RATHER A CAREFULLY ORCHESTRATED PLAN THAT INVOLVED MANY IMPORTANT FACTORS. FIRST WAS THE COORDINATED PLANNING DONE BY THE INFORMATION GROUP AT HEADQUARTERS OVER THE LAST NINE MONTHS. THIS RESULTED IN A BASIC PLAN TO WORK TO AVOID A CONFRONTATION BY PUTTING OFF ANY KIND OF DECLARATION UNTIL THE NEXT GENERAL CONFERENCE. NEXT THE SECRETARIAT, NAMELY M'BOW AND NAJMAN AGREED TO THIS PROCEDURE AND DEVISED THE IDEA

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OF HAVING THE MATTER REFERRED TO THE DNG. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE DNG, BOSSIER-PALUN (DAHOMAY) THEN BECAME

THE KEY PERSON AS HE HAD TO GET THE 25 MEMBERS TO AGREE TO THE POSTPONEMENT. THIS TACTIC ALMOST BLEW WHENPARTHASARATHI OF INDIA WAS NAMED TO HEAD THE WORKING GROUP SET UP TO PREPARE THE DOCUMENTS ON MASS MEDIA TO BE SENT TO THE PLENARY. AS IT TURNED OUT THERE WAS A HARD CORE OF STATES, LED BY THE SOVIET BLOC, WHO PRESSED FOR SOME SORT OF DECLARATION. THEY CONSIDERED THE DECEMBER DRAFT AS THEIR "BABY" AND LOOKED UPON ITS ABANDONMENT AS DEFEAT. THE INDIAN CHAIRMAN OF THE WORKING GROUP ALSO STRONGLY BELIEVED IN THE POSSIBILITY OF A DECLARATION. EVEN THE MODERATE AND POWERFUL HECTOR WYNTER (JAMAICA) FAVORED WORKING OUT A DRAFT TO BE PRESENTED TO PLENARY. HOWEVER, IN THE END DELAYING TACTICS, WHICH WERE SOFT ENOUGH NOT TO ALIENATE KEY PEOPLE PAID OFF AND WE CAME DOWN TO THE LINE WITH SIMPLY NO TIME FOR A DECLARATION, OR EVEN A SHORT ONE, STATING BASIC PRINCIPLES. M'BOW'S PERSONAL INTERVENTION AT A MEETING OF THE DNG SWUNG THE PENDULUM AND THE NET RESULT WAS A SHORT RESOLUTION PRETTY MUCH FOLLOWING OUR PRECONCEIVED STRATEGIES. THIS TOO WAS ADOPTED BY PLENARY BY ACCLAMATION.

4. THE FINAL USUAL POLITICAL RESOLUTIONS ON RACE, COLONIALISM, APARTHEID AND THE LIKE WERE ALSO STRIPPED OF THEIR CUSTOMARY POLITICAL JARGON AND ACRIMONY. ONE SHOULD COMPARE THE RESOLUTIONS ON THESE OF THE 17TH AND 18TH GENERAL CONFERENCES WITH THOSE OF THE 19TH TO SEE THE FULL EFFECT OF THE CHANGE. AGAIN IT WAS THE ACTION OF THE DNG WHICH PAVED THE WAY. HOWEVER, IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT ON THE DNG IT WAS THE SUPPORTIVE ROLES PLAYED BY THE WESTERN MEMBERS, WHICH HAD BEEN COORDINATED VIA THE INFORMATION GROUP, THAT PERMITTED OUR POINT OF VIEW TO GENERALLY PREVAIL.

5. THE IOC RESOLUTION WAS ENTIRELY PREDICTABLE, GIVEN THE CAST OF CHARACTERS INVOLVED. M'BOW TAKES AN ABSOLUTELY UNCOMPROMISING POSITION VIS-A-VIS APARTHEID AND NO AMOUNT OF LEGALIZING ON OUR PART WILL CHANGE THIS. M'BOW IS OF AFRICAN DESCENT AND SHARES THE DEEP CONFIDENTIAL

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FEELINGS THAT PERSONS OF AFRICAN DESCENT GENERALLY BEAR TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICAN RACIAL POLICIES. ANY UNDERESTIMATION OF THIS DEPTH OF FEELING WILL BE A SERIOUS MISTAKE ON OUR PART. HOWEVER, IT SHOULD BE NOTED HERE THAT THE ACTION WAS AS MODERATE AS COULD BE EXPECTED IN THAT SOUTH AFRICA WAS NOT OUSTED FROM THE IOC, BUT ONLY THE DG WILL NOT INVITE THEM TO MEETINGS. THEY CAN STILL ATTEND IF THEY WISH. THEY ARE STILL MEMBERS OF THE IOC.

6. FURTHER CONTRAST WITH THE LAST GENERAL CONFERENCE WAS NOTABLE BY THE ABSENCE OF ROLL CALL VOTES. THERE WERE NONE AT NAIROBI. EVEN ON THE CHILEAN RESOLUTION THERE WAS FAR LESS SPEECH MAKING THAN EVEN OCCURS DURING THE EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETINGS.

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7. AS TO M'BOW, HE ENDED UP SOMEWHAT WEAKENED IN HIS RELATIONS WITH HIS CONSTITUENCY, WHICH, INCIDENTALLY AS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY REPORTED DOES NOT NECESSARILY ALWAYS INCLUDE THE US. M'BOW WAS ACCUSED BEHIND THE SCENES OF BEING A STOOGUE OF THE WEST, PARTICULARLY OF THE US IN TRYING TO "DEPOLITIZE" THE CONFERENCE. THEREFORE, M'BOW IS NOW UNCERTAIN WHETHER IT WAS WORTH THE EFFORT. HE IS CERTAINLY NOT IN THE MOOD TO DO ANYTHING MORE TO HELP US ROW OUR BOAT BACK INTO FULL PARTICIPATION IN UNESCO. IT IS, IN M'BOW'S, AND MOST ALL THE DELEGATIONS' MINDS PRESENT, SIMPLY INCONCEIVABLE THAT AT A CONFERENCE OF 141 SOVERIGN STATES, REPRESENTING THE ENTIRE WORLD AND DEALING WITH PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, SCIENCE, CULTURE AND THE SENSITIVE SUBJECT OF MASS MEDIA AND COMMUNICATIONS, THE US WOULD CHOOSE TO NOT PARTICIPATE. IN CORRIDOR CONVERSATIONS IT WAS

EVIDENT THAT WITHOUT MAKING ANY THREATS ABOUT OUR WITHDRAWAL, NO ONE WAS PREPARED TO BELIEVE THAT THE US WOULD BE SO IRRESPONSIBLE, AS THEY WOULD PUT IT, AS TO PULL OUT OF A MAJOR CLOG IN THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM. THEREFORE, IT IS DIFFICULT TO GET THEM TO MOVE FROM THEIR PET POSITIONS, WHICH WE SEE AS POLITICAL AND THEY SEE AS BEING IN THEIR VITAL INTEREST. THEREFORE, POLITIZATION AS WE SEE IT IS NOT THE SAME AS SEEN  
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THROUGH OTHER EYES. OUR DOMESTIC PROBLEMS ARE VIEWED AS OUR PROBLEMS AND THERE IS RESENTMENT EVEN FROM OUR WESTERN ALLIES WHEN WE SEEK TO TRANSPOSE THESE INTO THE INTERNATIONAL AREA OF A UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE. AS AN EXAMPLE SEE NAIROBI TELEGRAM12517, 11/11/76.

8. PROSPECTS FOR "DEPOLITIZATION". M'BOW IS NOT LIKELY TO DO MUCH MORE THAN HE HAS. HE AND HIS LIEUTENANTS BOSSIER-PALUN, HECTOR WYNTER AND DIENE OF SENEGAL, WORKED TIRELESSLY TO DELETE THE WORD "CONDEMNED" FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES RESOLUTION. THEY DID NOT SUCCEED AND PROBABLY COULD NOT HAVE UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES. HOWEVER, THEY WERE ABLE TO CALL IN THEIR CHIPS ON THE APARTHEID, RACISM RESOLUTION AND GET ALL REFERENCES TO THE MIDDLE EAST, INCLUDING 3379 AND THE PLO, DELETED. HAD THE ARABS YIELDED ON THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, THEY WOULD SURELY HAVE NOT BACKED DOWN ON THE RACISM RESOLUTION. THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN A LONG DEBATE AND DELEGATIONS WOULD HAVE HAD TO CHOOSE SIDES, WITH PREDICTABLE RESULTS. WE WOULD HAVE HAD A FAIRLY BAD RESOLUTION ON THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND A VERY BAD RESOLUTION ON RACE AND RACISM. WE WOULD HAVE ENDED WITH THREE STRIKES AGAINST US INSTEAD OF JUST TWO. THEREFORE, THE M'BOW-BOSSIER TACTIC OF YIELDING ON ONE AND STICKING IT OUT ON THE OTHER, IN THE END, PRODUCED THE BEST POSSIBLE AND PRACTICABLE RESULT.

9. AS TO THE FUTURE, THE US ONCE AGAIN LOSES ITS VOTE IN JANUARY IN GENERAL CONFERENCES. AT FIRST BLUSH THIS MAY SEEM MOOT SINCE THE NEXT GENERAL CONFERENCE IS NOT UNTIL 1978. BUT BY '78 WE WILL BE SOMEWHERE NEAR TO 110 MILLION DOLLARS IN ARREARS. FURTHER, IF WE DO NOT PAY IN 1977 THERE WILL SURELY BE AN EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE CALLED FOR THE AUTUMN. THIS WILL HAVE TO CONSIDER THE US DILEMMA AND ALL ATTENTION WILL THEN BE FOCUSED ON OUR ARREARS. WE CAN, OF COURSE, AS A GREAT POWER, STAND THE PIN PRICKS WEAK UNESCO. BUT THE BITTERNESS THAT WILL BE CAUSED CANNOT BE CALCULATED AND INDEED, MAY NEVER APPEAR ON

THE SURFACE. HOWEVER, THE FACT THAT WE PUSH A MODERATE,  
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OBVIOUSLY OUTSTANDINGLY INTELLECTUAL AFRICAN TO THE  
WALL, TO FORCE HIM TO BEG TO THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE  
WORLD TO MAKE UP THE US NON-PAYMENT, WILL NOT BE FOR-  
GOTTEN AND WILL SPILL OVER IN WAYS WHICH WE CANNOT  
PREDICT. M'BOW AS WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY REPORTED, IS  
A MAN WITH A FUTURE AND A MAN OF INFLUENCE THAT SHOULD  
NOT BE TAKEN LIGHTLY. HIS WEIGHT WILL BE FELT, IN ONE  
WAY OR ANOTHER, ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE FOR YEARS  
TO COME. HIS PRECEPTION OF THE US, HOW IT ACTS,  
OPERATES AND MOVES WILL BE DETERMINED BY HIS ENCOUNTERS  
WHILE DG OF UNESCO. THESE CONCLUSIONS WILL BE THE ONES  
THAT SHAPE HIS FUTURE ACTIONS OR INACTIONS, VIS-A-VIS  
THE US IN HIS DEALINGS WITH OTHERS, PARTIC-  
ULARLY WITH HIS AFRICAN THIRD WORLD CONSTITUENCY.  
THEREFORE, WE WOULD NOT RECOMMEND PUTTING ANY FURTHER  
PRESSURE ON M'BOW AT THE MOMENT. HE WOULD EXPECT US  
TO BE APPRECIATIVE OF HIS ACTIONS, WHICH MAY HAVE  
JEOPARDIZED HIS AMBITIONS. HE WILL NOT REACT

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POSITIVELY TO WHAT HE WOULD BELIEVE AS OUR FAILURE TO REALIZE WHAT HE HAS DONE AND HOW FAR OUT ON A LIMB HE HAS GOTTEN. AS BOSSIER-PALUN SAID CONFIDENTIALLY NEAR THE END OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE, "J'AI FATIGUE DE LES ETATS UNIS." THEREFORE, IT MAY WELL BE THAT THE PRINCIPAL ACTORS AT UNESCO STILL VERY MUCH WANT THE US TO CONTINUE, BUT THEY ARE SIMPLY TIRED OF DEALING WITH OUR PROBLEMS AND NEED A BREATHING SPACE.

10. IN THE COMING YEAR, THE PROBLEMS PUT ASIDED BY OUR TACTICS AT THE 19TH GENERAL CONFERENCE WILL AGAIN SURFACE. THE ISRAELI ISSUES WILL NOT GO AWAY, NOR BE SOLVED, SINCE THEY HINGE ON PROGRESS TOWARDS SOME SORT OF GENERAL SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HOWEVER, ALL BUT THE MILITANT ARABS ARE PRETTY MUCH FED UP WITH THESE ISSUES, AND IT IS NOT LIKELY THAT THEY WILL WORSEN, UNLESS THE SITUATION IN THE MID-EAST ITSELF WORSENS. THE MASS MEDIA ISSUE WILL BE BROADEN, INCREASE IN IMPORTANCE, AND LAST FOR MANY YEARS TO COME. WE ARE JUST AT THE BEGINNING. WE RECOMMEND THAT THE DEBATE IN COMMISSION BE CAREFULLY ANALYZED AS IT CLEARLY INDICATED THE FEARS, FRUSTRATIONS AND DETERMINATION OF THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES IN THE MEDIA FIELD. AGAIN, US PARTICIPATION AND INVOLVEMENT WILL DETERMINE WHICH WAY THE ISSUE FINALLY GOES. UNESCO, CONFIDENTIAL

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AS A BELL WETHER OF THINGS TO COME, IS CLEARLY SIGNALLING THAT THERE IS A PROBLEM TO BE DEALT WITH. TUR POSTURE IN GEARING UP TO DEAL WITH IT IN A SOPHISTICATED, NON EMOTIONAL WAY WILL BE IMPORTANT IN THE COMING YEAR AND INDEED THE COMING DECADE. UNESCO IS PRESENTING US AN OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH THE FRUSTRATIONS OF THE THIRD WORLD VIS-A-VIS THE ROLE OF THE MASS MEDIA IN A STRUCTURED REASONABLY ORDERLY WAY. THE ALTERNATIVE IS TO FIGHT A NO HOLDS BARRED BATTLE AGAINST THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES WHO WILL BE BACKED BY THE COMMUNIST AND WHO IN THE END WILL LIKELY ADOPT POLICIES AND TAKE ACTIONS COMPLETELY CONTRARY TO OUR PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM OF THE MEDIA AND THE FLOW OF INFORMATION. IN ANY EVENT, UNESCO IS AND WILL BE THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION PRIMARILY INVOLVED AND M'BOW WILL BE THE KEY PERSON IN SHAPING THE WAY IN WHICH THINGS ULTIMATELY GO.

11. ANOTHER ISSUE THAT WILL AGAIN EMERGE IS THAT OF RACISM. UNESCO IS DETERMINED TO PRODUCE A WORLD WIDE DECLARATION AGAINST RACISM AND ONE WILL BE PRODUCED'



PROBABLY IN 1977. THIS WILL HAVE MORAL VALUE AND WHEN ADOPTED WILL CARRY THE MORAL WEIGHT OF THE ORGANIZATION. THIS ISSUE WILL CERTAINLY BE TIED TO THE WHOLE PROBLEM OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AND MAY REFLECT PATTERNS OF THINGS TO COME IN THAT AREA.

12. A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER IS ALSO HIGH ON M'BOW'S PRIORITIES. HIS BOOK "MOVING TOWARD CHANGE" SETS FORTH HIS PHILOSOPHY AND MUCH OF IT IS NOT ALONG LINES WE WOULD APPROVE. NEVERTHELESS, UNESCO IS MOVING TO THE FOREFRONT OF A NIEO AND M'BOW INTENDS TO SEE THAT UNESCO IS THE LEADER OF ALL THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES. OVER THE NEXT YEARS WE CAN EXPECT M'BOW TO BECOME THE INTELLECTUAL GUIDEPOST OF A NIEO AND UNESCO STUDIES AND ACTIVITIES WILL HAVE INFLUENCE MUCH BEYOND THE PARIS HEADQUARTERS. THE EXECUTIVE BOARD WILL BE FACED WITH

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DEBATING UNESCO'S ROLE IN NIEO AND THIS WILL BE A CONTINUING IMPORTANT AGENDA ITEM. THE 19TH GENERAL CONFERENCE CLEARLY WAS A GUIDEPOST OF FUTURE ACTIVITY.

13. IN CONCLUSION, THE 19TH GENERAL CONFERENCE WAS IMPORTANT IN TWO MAIN RESPECTS: (1) IT WAS AN IM-

PORTANT DEPARTURE FROM THE POLITICAL RHETORIC AND RESOLUTIONS OF PREVIOUS GENERAL CONFERENCES. THE BALANCE SHEET ON THESE ISSUES IS ALL IN OUR FAVOR AND REALISTICALLY COULD NOT HAVE BEEN BETTER. TO THINK OF THE ISRAELI ISSUES AS A "PACKAGE DEAL", WHICH ALL HAD TO MOVE AS WE WANTED IS UNREALITY IN ITS HIGHEST MANIFESTATION. (2) THE 19TH GC POINTS THE WAY TO FUTURE ISSUES OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE US. UNESCO UNDER M'BOW, WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT, IS GOING TO BE IN THE FOREFRONT. THE 19TH GC WAS A BELLWEATHER FOR THINGS TO COME. THERE ARE SIGNALS AND WARNINGS WE SHOULD NOT IGNORE. FINALLY THE SOVIETS AND THEIR FRIENDS DID NOT SUCCEED AT THE 19TH GC. THEY TRIED TO DESTROY THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE DNG AND FAILED. THEIR USUAL PROPAGANDA RESOLUTIONS WERE WEAKENED TO THE POINT THAT THEY SCARCELY RESEMBLED THE PROPAGANDA "VICTORIES" OF PAST CONFERENCES. THE SOVIETS STILL SEE UNESCO ALMOST PURELY AND COMPLETELY AS A VEHICLE FOR THEIR PROPAGANDA, CONFIDENTIAL

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ESPECIALLY THAT AIMED AT THE THIRD WORLD. WITHOUT THEIR CUSTOMARY JARGON AND RHETORIC OF IDEOLOGICAL WORDS AND PHRASES, THE SOVIET BLOCCANNOT BE HAPPY AS THAT IS ALMOST THEIR TOTAL BALL GAME. THE MILITANT ARABS, LED BY IRAQ CERTAINLY ARE NOT HAPPY. THEY FOUGHT A LOSING BATTLE AGAINST M'BOW AND BOSSIER-PALUN AND THEIR TOTAL ACHIEVEMENT WAS IN VIRTUALLY MAINTAINING THE STATUS QUO ON THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND JERUSALEM. WE MAY VIEW THOSE ITEMS AS LOSERS, THE MILITANT ARABS VIEW THE ENTIRE CONFERENCE AS A LOSER. THEREFORE, ON BALANCE THE SCALES ARE DEFINITELY TIPPED IN OUR FAVOR. THE COMING YEAR MAY ALTER THAT DELICATE BALANCE. THE MOST NOTABLE THING ABOUT THE 19TH GC MAY WELL BE THE ISSUES THAT WERE FLASHED BEFORE US AND THEN LEFT UNRESOLVED. RUSH

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